

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-11

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 OIC-04 CU-04 EB-11 OMB-01

NSC-10 SS-20 DODE-00 AEC-11 NIC-01 DRC-01 /179 W

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R 041820Z FEB 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3782

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USEC BRUSSELS UNN

USNATO BRUSSELS 2281

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 0694

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE FOLLOW-UP - NEW ECANINE PAPER

REF: GENEVA 459

SUMMARY. FRG REP HAS PROVIDED US DEL WITH COPY OF EC-NINE PAPER  
ON CSCE FOLLOW-ON TO BE PRESENTED TO POLITICAL DIRECTORS FEBRUARY  
6-7. WHILE WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER EC-NINE PLAN TO REFER TO THIS  
PAPER DURING SPC DISCUSSION OF FOLLOW-ON AT NATO FEBRUARY 4, WE  
TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE PAPER IN CONNECTIO  
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WITH DEPARTMENT'S CURRENT REVIEW OF THIS QUESTION. END SUMMARY.

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INFORMAL TRANSLATION

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EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION      GENEVA  
CSCE: CP(74)11 P      FEBRUARY 1, 1974  
FOLLOW-UP TO CSCE

(REPORT BY THE CSCE SUBCOMMITTEE TO THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE)

I. THE MANDATE OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE

1. THE PROBLEM OF CONFERENCE FOLLOWUP WAS THE SUBJECT OF AN EXAMINATION IN DOCUMENT RM(73)20 DATED NOVEMBER 13, 1973. THE MINISTERS APPROVED THIS DOCUMENT NOVEMBER 20 AND INVITED THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TO PURSUE ITS STUDIES OF THE SUBJECT OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP.

2. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, MEETING AT BONN, JANUARY 10, 1974, CHARGED THE SUBCOMMITTEE AND THE AD HOC GROUP "TO STUDY THIS SUBJECT IN DEPT, ALSO IN JOINT MEETINGS" AND TO "PRESENT CONCLUSIONS WHICH THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE CAN JUDGE.

"

THE SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD ASK OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE DIRECTIONS ON THE POINTS ON WHICH A CONSENSUS HAS NOT YET BEEN REACHED.

3. THE SUBCOMMITTEE PRESENTS THE FOLLOWING REPORT WHICH IT ELABORATED IN GENEVA ON JANUARY 22, 23, AND 31.

II. POLITICAL SITUATION AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE

4. IN THE TERMS OF PARAGRAPH 12 OF THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF HELSINKI, THE CSCE WILL END WITH THE ADOPTION OF FINAL DOCUMENTS. IN EXAMINING THE SITUATION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPATING STATES WHICH WILL BE IN EFFECT FROM THAT MOMENT, THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED:

A) THE EFFECT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE CSCE  
THE EVALUATION OF THE CONFERENCE CANNOT BE LIMITED ONLY TO THE CONSIDERATION OF THE DECISIONS COMING OUT OF

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CSCE; WHAT IS IMPORTANT TO US IS, ABOVE ALL, THE PUTTING INTO EFFECTIVE ACTION OF THESE DECISIONS.

B) THE APPRECIATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND ITS EVOLUTION  
AN OVERALL EVALUATION IMPLIES THE NECESSITY OF TAKING INTO ACCOUNT NOT ONLY OF THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE BUT EQUALLY OF THE WHOLE OF THE FACTORS WHICH EXERT AN

INFLUENCE ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND ON THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. (E.G. PROCESS OF UNIFICATION OF THE NINE, SITUATION IN THE EAST AND THE WEST, EAST/WEST RELATIONSHIPS, DEVELOPMENTS COMING OUT OF OTHER NEGOTIATIONS, EVOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AND IN THE WORLD.)

C) THE POLITICAL COOPERATION OF THE NINE  
THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE POLITICAL COOPERATION OF THE NINE TAKES A PRIMORDIAL IMPORTANCE IN THIS CONTEXT.  
UP TO NOW THE CSCE HAS REINFORCED AND AFFIRMED THE COHESION OF THE NINE; IT IS NECESSARY TO WATCH THAT THIS CONTINUES.

III THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NINE, OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES, AND  
NEUTRAL OR NON-ALLIGNED STATES

A) THE NINE

5. THE OBJECTIVES OF THE NINE ARE CLEARLY DEFINED IN DOCUMENT RM(73)20 CP.

6. THE COMMUNITY SHOULD CONTINUE TO SHOW A SPIRIT OF OPENNESS TOWARD THE REST OF THE WORLD. THE TENDENCY TO GIVE MORE IMPORTANCE TO THE SOLUTION OF THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNITY SHOULD THUS BE ACCOMPANIED BY DIVERSE INITIATIVES TOWARDS THIRD COUNTRIES.

7. STARTING FROM HYPOTHESIS OF A CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE, THE NINE SHOULD PRACTICE A POLICY WHICH RESERVES THE FUTURE OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS STARTED BY CSCE AND ACCORDS WITH THEIR CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE SINCE THE START OF THE PREPARATION OF THIS CONFERENCE. THIS POLICY SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE REAL FACTS OF THE POLITICAL

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SITUATION AND PRESERVE THE FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF THE NINE.  
B) THE USSR AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

8. CONCERNING THE FOLLOW-UP OF THE CONFERENCE, THE POSITION OF THE USSR IS IDENTIFIED WITH THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT ORGANISM WITH GENERAL COMPETENCE. TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE RESERVED ATTITUDE OF THE WEST, THE SOVIETS HAVE ADVANCED THROUGH CZECHOSLAVIA THE PROPOSITION WHICH THEY PRESENT AS A MODERATE ONE OF A CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. THIS, ONCE CREATED, WOULD HAVE IN ITS MANDATE ALL THE ELEMENTS WHICH WOULD PERMIT IT TO PROGRESSIVELY DEVELOP ITS ROLE.

9. THE USSR SEEMS ABOVE ALL INTERESTED IN TWO ELEMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE WHICH ARE LINKED: THE DECLARATION ON THE PRINCIPLES AND THE PERMANENT ORGANISM. THE USSR DOES NOT

CONCEIVE, THEREFORE, OF CSCE FOLLOW-UP IN THE SENSE OF AN  
ULTIMATE DEVELOPMENT OF A MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION PROCESS,  
BUT AS A FORUM WHICH WOULD PERMIT IT TO CONTROL THE POLITICAL  
STATUS QUO AND TO SLOW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITY. SUCH A CONSTRUCTION WOULD TEND TOWARD A PAN-  
EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM.

10. FOR A COMPLETE EVALUATION OF THE POSITIONS OF THE WARSAW  
PACT COUNTRIES, ONE SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE ATTITUDE  
OF THE SOVIET UNION'S PARTNERS. ROMANIA SEEMS TO TAKE FROM  
CSCE A CERTAIN LIBERTY OF MOVEMENT; THIS DOES NOT SEEM  
TO BE THE CASE OF OTHER PACT COUNTRIES WHICH PLAY THE  
ROLE WHICH MOSCOW GIVES THEM. NEVERTHELESS, ONE CANNOT  
EXCLUDE ENTIRELY THAT A PROLONGATION OF THE MULTILATERAL  
DISCUSSION WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES COULD GRADUALLY CON-  
TRIBUTE A BIT TO THEIR MARGIN OF MANEUVER. IT SEEMS THAT  
CERTAIN OF THESE COUNTRIES HAVE SOME HOPES IN THIS SENSE.

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C) NEUTRAL OR NON-ALLIGNED COUNTRIES

11. THE INTEREST WHICH NUMEROUS NEUTRAL OR NON-ALLIGNED COUNTRIES ATTACH TO INSTITUTIONAL FOLLOW-ON RESPONDS TO THE CONCERN TO MAINTAIN THEREBY THEIR PLACE IN THE MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE IN WHICH THEY THINK THEY CAN PLAY A ROLE ALONGSIDE THE ALLIANCES AND ECONOMIC GROUPS WHICH THEY ARE NOT MEMBERS.

12. THEIR POSITIONS IN THE CONFERENCE HAVE GENERALLY FAVORED WESTERN THEORIES. THIS COMES FROM THE FACT THAT IN GENERAL THEIR INTERESTS AS WELL AS, FOR THE MOST PART, THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, COINCIDE WITH THOSE OF THE WEST. IT IS, HOWEVER, NOT TO BE EXCLUDED THAT, FACED WITH A MORE AND MORE COHERENT  
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WESTERN GROUP CERTAIN OF THEM WOULD FROM TIME TO TIME LOOK FOR A DIALOGUE WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES AND SHARE CERTAIN OF THEIR POINTS OF VIEWS.

13. THESE CONSIDERATIONS LEAD US TO CARE FOR OUR CONTACTS WITH THE NEUTRAL OR NONALLIGNED COUNTRIES NOT ONLY DURING THE FUTURE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE BUT ALSO AFTER THE THIRD PHASE, IN PARTICULAR TO CONVINCE THEM - THAT THE NINE ARE NOT PURSUING A POLICY OF INTEGRATION EXCLUSIVE OF CLOSER RELATIONSHIPS ON A LARGER BASIS  
-- THAT OUR ATTITUDE ON CONFERENCE FOLLOW-ON IS WELL FOUNDED AND CONSTRUCTIVE AND DOES NOT CONTRADICT THEIR SPECIFIC INTERESTS.

IV. POSITION OF THE NINE ON POSSIBLE FOLLOW-ON

14. THE NINE CONSIDER THAT THE POLITICAL SITUATION DOES NOT PERMIT ENVISAGING THE CREATION OF A CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SUCH AS FIGURES IN CZECHOSLAVAK DARFT.

15. SUCH A POSITION IS JUSTIFIED BY THE FACT THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT ASSURE IN THEMSELVES THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE AND COOPERATION. WHAT IS IMPORTANT TO US IS ABOVE ALL THE EFFECTIVE PUTTING INTO ACTION OF THE CONTENT OF THESE DOCUMENTS. WE ARE THUS BROUGHT TO LINK THE QUESTION OF AN INSTITUTIONALIZATION NOT TO PROMISES BUT TO THEIR REALIZATION.

16. WE COME FROM THIS TO THE IDEA OF PUTTING FORWARD AN INTERIM PERIOD OF SEVERAL YEARS, AT THE END OF WHICH THE QUESTION OF CSCE FOLLOW-ON COULD BE RE-EXAMINED, TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE REAL WORKING OF THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

17. THIS POSITION DOES NOT IMPLY A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PURSUIT OF A MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE. IT WOULD HAVE THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGE OF PROLONGING AFTER THE END OF THE CSCE THE SYSTEM OF INCITEMENTS BY SUCCESSIVE STEPS WHICH WE HAVE PUT IN PLACE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE PREPARATION OF SCCE.

18. IT REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED:

- I. THE DURATION OF THE INTERIM PERIOD
- II THAT WHICH WOULD FORSEE FOR THE END OF THIS PERIOD
- III. THAT WHICH WILL TAKE PALCE WITHIN THIS PERIOD.

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19. IN ORDER TO PERMIT A REAL EVALUATION OF THE PUTTING INTO EFFECT OF THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE IT SEEMS THAT THE INTERIM PERIOD SHOULD HAVE A DURATION OF ABOUT THREE OR FOUR YEARS.

20. FOR THE END OF THE INTERIM PERIOD ONE COULD FORESEE A MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES AT A PLACE TO BE DECIDED. THIS MEETING WOULD NOT IMPLY ANY INSTITUTIONALIZATION. IT WOULD HAVE AS ITS TASK EVALUATING THE DEGREE OF REALIZATION OF THE OBJECTIVES WHICH CSCE FIXED FOR ITSELF AND THE STATE OF THE GERNERAL POLITICAL STIUATION. IF THE MEETING JUDGES IT OPPORTUNE IN THE LIGHT OF THIS EVALUATION, IT COULD PRESENT SUGGESTIONS TO THE GOVERNMENTS ON THAT WHICH WOULD BE ADEQUATE FOR THE PURSUIT OF THESE OBJECTIVES, INCLUDING: -- A) SUBSEQUENT MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS -- B) A NEW CONFERENCE.

21. DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE PARTICIPATING STATES TO BRING ABOUT THE DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, THE WORK OF THE EXISTING INSTITUTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN CERTAIN TASKS, THE FUNCTIONING OF THE SPECIALIZED ORGANISMS WHICH HAVE BEEN INSTITUTED IN THIS OR THAT SPECIAL AREA, AND FINALLY THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN DECIDED ON CERTAIN SUBJECTS, WILL FURNISH ELEMENTS PERMITTING AJUDGEMENT OF THE PUTTING INTO ACTION OF THE DECISIONS OF CSCE. THIS EVALUATION COULD POSSIBLY BE FACILITATED BY MEETINGS OF EXPERTS FROM THE PARTICIPATING STATES DEVOTED TO CERTAIN SPECIFIC POINTS. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED IN ADDITION THAT SUCH EXPERTS' MEETINGS COULD HAVE AS THEIR TASK TO EXAMINE, TO VERIFY, AND TO CONTROL THE APPLICATION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENTS IN THE SPECIFIC SECTORS OF COOPERATION. TIS IDEA COULD BE USEFUL TO US NOTABLY ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF AGENDA ITEM III AND SHOULD BE KEPT IN VIEW BY OUR NEGOTIATORS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD AVOID GIVING THE EASTERN COUNTRIES THE OCCASION OF ASKING, IN COMPENSATION, FOR "SURVEILLANCE FOLLOW-ON- RELATING TO THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. GIVEN THE BROAD SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS DECLARATION, MEETINGS CHARGED WITH CONTROLLING ITS APPLICATION WOULD PRESENT THE DISADVANTAGES OF A POLITICAL ORGANISM WITH GENERAL COMPETENCE,

WITHOUT MAINTAINING THE NECESSARY LINK BETWEEN AGENDA ITEMS  
III. THESE "TECHNICAL FOLLOW-ON" WOULD CONSTITUTE THE ACTIVITY  
OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD.  
THUS THE MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE STARTED IN HELSINKI AND GENEVA  
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WOULD BE CONTINUED WITHOUT THE CREATION OF ORGANISMS  
WITH GENERAL COMPETENCE.

2. BEGIN BRACKERS. CERTAIN DELEGATIONS ENVISAGE AS A FALL-  
BACK POSITION A MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS HALF WAY THROUGH M  
THE INTERIM PERIOD. THIS MEETING WOULD HAVE AS ITS TASK THE  
EVALUATION IN A GENERAL MANNER OF THE DEGREE  
OF REALIZATION OF THE OBJECTIVES WHICH CSCE HAS  
FIXED FOR ITSELF AND THE STATE OF THE GENERAL  
POLITICAL SITUATION . END BRACKETS.DALE

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## Message Attributes

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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 04 FEB 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
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**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Reference:** GENEVA 459  
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**Review Authority:** golinofr  
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**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE FOLLOW-UP - NEW ECANINE PAPER  
**TAGS:** PFOR, CSCE  
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**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005